The Human Zoo as (Bad) Intercultural Performance

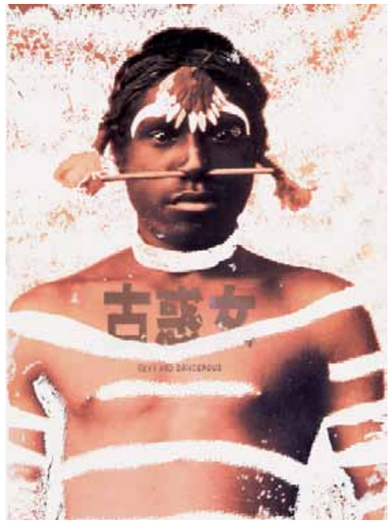
Karel Arnaut

Human zoos are situated at the nexus of performance and subalternity whereby the latter articulates diversity/"alterity" with inequality and subjugation. In the case of the imperial and colonial forms of human zoo which are abundantly documented in this catalogue as well as in many studies in recent years,[1] the intercultural performance collapses under the weight of the subalternity of its actors/extras which was sustained by the colonial system. The main victim of this performative implosion is inter-subjectivity. The analysis of artistic performances dealing with subalternity will show that this lack of inter-subjectivity allows us to repudiate human zoos on aesthetic grounds. Hence human zoos are not only ethically but also aesthetically bad performances.

Remedying the human zoo

Broadly speaking, the numerous cases presented in this publication fall within three categories: postcolonial reproductions of human zoos;[2] reinventions or reworkings of the posture of human zoos;[3] or artistic "parodies" thereof.[4]
First, the present-day reproductions of the first category show analogous attempts to emulate the historical human zoo albeit with corrections which in retrospect have proven unsuccessful and even counterproductive. One of the most blatant cases was that of the Baka show at the animal park in Yvoir, Belgium, in 2002. There, several billboards stated that: "Out of respect for the present inhabitants [= the Baka] all animals have been removed from the park." The contamination of "animals" and "the Baka" reversed the intended effect of the message and contributed to the denunciation of the show as a "human zoo". This indictment which stressed exploitation and subjugation was later corroborated by the discovery that the eight Baka performers-in-residence had no proper working permits or employment contracts. In that respect, the case of the twenty or so Ivoirians of Bamboula Village in a wildlife park near Nantes in 1994, was less serious in contractual terms if no less telling. Here, the Ivorian dancers had employment contracts, but the terms and wages were those valid in Ivory Coast, not in France. Like in Yvoir, the protesters exposed this combination of delocalisation and exploitation in order to debunk the "African village" as a mere cultural sweat shop. Further in the way of failed remedying of the inequities of human zoos, the "African Village" at Augsburg Zoo in 2005 had no staged performances but merely featured Africans selling artisanal products. Like "pavilions" nowadays, "villages" in these imperialist expositions stressed the indexical relationship between, on the one hand, the people and the products on display and, on the other hand, the "nation" or "culture" they represented. "Village" thus warranted authenticity, provenance and distinctiveness as marketing propositions. While the political-economy dimension is so present in the above contemporary reproductions of human zoos, it is largely absent in the second category, that is to say in present-day reinventions or reworkings of human zoos in media, entertainment, education, science or any combination of them.
Big Brother, the emblematic reality television series which was launched back in 1999, is presented as providing an environment in which participants can shape their personalities, sometimes explicitly phrased as "showing who they really are". In that respect, the scientific counterpart of *Big Brother* is the reality-television series *Human Zoo*.[5] As Isabelle Veyrat-Masson points out in this catalogue, this series was co-designed

☛ David Lynch, "The Elephant Man", fiction film, photogram, 1980.



by the popular American psychologist Philip Zimbardo and was allegedly meant to "highlight aspects of human behaviour and social interaction" in a "positive and constructive way".[6] This stands in stark contrast to Zimbardo's earlier Stanford Prison Experiment of 1971,[7] a video-recorded psychological experiment that was prematurely terminated because the volunteers became so engrossed in their assigned roles of inmates and guards that they indulged in increasingly violent and otherwise destructive behaviour.[8] A similar exploration of the dehumanizing effects of total surveillance/control can also be found in George Orwell's rendering of a despotic panopticon in his novel *1984*, published in 1949.

In the above reinventions or reworkings of the human zoo, the focus is almost exclusively on the targets of the panoptical gaze, their relative subordination and their (un)natural behaviour. In contrast, the artistic and contemporary parodies of human zoos to which we turn our attention now, also focus on the viewer, or, as it is often stated: they return the gaze and expose the peculiarities and flagrancies of the interrelationship between observer and observed. Two relatively recent instances of this occurred in the UK, where humans were on display in London Zoo in 2005[9] and in Edinburgh Zoo in 2008.[10] Although the interpretations and messages of both shows diverged widely, the general trend, as Olivier Razac points out, was about human-animal identifications established through shared behavioural patterns, experiencing the predicament of being caged, or having their ecosystem threatened. Another eminent instance of such identification-through-role-reversal is the scene in Régis Wargnier's film *Man to Man* (2005) in which the two display Pygmies, together with their European guard and researcher, engage in a mock fight in which the white anthropologist is captured by his captives and put on display by them as a specimen of the Caucasian race. More than just carnavalizing the traditional human zoo, this scene offers a "breakthrough into performance"[11] from a quotidian routine of exhibiting (sub)humans into a self-conscious spectacle. As such it makes a crucial point about the Pygmies being denied the universal human potential for meta-communication – which the American anthropologist and psychiatrist Gregory Bateson[12] started to reflect upon when observing mammals "playing" at Fleishhacker Zoo in San Francisco.[13]

Even if the kind of role-reversal such as in the scene from *Man to Man* is probably not historical, it is all the more contemporary in that it belongs to a rather fashionable category of what Priscilla Netto calls "parodic and critical literalization" of human zoos.[14] A typical example of this was the *Venus Hottentot 2000* performance of Lyle Ashton Harris and Renee Valerie Cox of 1995. This "performance-as-critique" stages an hyperbolic figure of Sara Baartman with accentuated breasts and buttocks[15] who regards the viewers "with a direct, unflinching and confrontational gaze" as she is photographed by Harris.[16] A much more widely known and analysed artistic parody is *The Couple in the Cage* by Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gómez-Peña (1992).[17] Like Yacine Hamoud in this section, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out that this installation stages the viewer, and that the locus of repudiation and admonishment is the "practices of othering" which contained an "indictment of Western stereotypes"[18] of "primitive" peoples.[19] Without too much risk of reduction, Fusco's performance can be broadly characterized as a "ruptural performance" in the sense Tony Perucci defined it, as being "less a critique of ideology or false consciousness" but "more about the experience of the encounter of returning one's gaze to that which one avoids [in order] to maintain acceptance of the inequities of the contemporary social orders."[20]

One very effective way of returning the gaze is by including the subject position of the (hegemonic) spectator or the jailor into the performance, such as in the character of the photographer (like the role of Harris in *Venus Hottentot 2000*) or in the figure of the two "zoo guards" in *The Couple in the Cage*. The guardians, explains Fusco, were "on hand to speak to

♦ Brook Andrew, "Sexy and Dangerous", digitally altered photograph, 1996.

➨ Jean-François Bocle, "Je l'ai mangé toute mon enfance" (I Ate It Throughout My Childhood), series of drawings for Banania chocolate drink, chocolate and water on paper, 2008.

The Bamboula Village in Nantes (1994)

In 1994, the Saint-Michel biscuit company worked with the management of a wild-life park in Port-Saint-Père (near the city of Nantes, France) to reconstitute an "authentic African village", dubbed "Bamboula Village" after the name of the one of the company's products. Some twenty citizens of the Ivory Coast were exhibited alongside animals in the park – an exotic attraction for which visitors had to pay an extra admission fee. The Africans, meanwhile, were paid on the basis of Ivoirian labour practices. The participants carried out craft activities and also performed dances in "traditional dress". The programme changed each day. Visitors strolled through the village composed of huts, at whose entrance there stood a giant reproduction of the mascot of the biscuit product, namely a half-naked black child wearing a leopard skin. The guide explained that, "This clay village with its round huts takes us to the heart of Black Africa."[1] Advertising for the event, similar to the promotion of ethnic exhibits in the late nineteenth century, played on the proximity of the natives with wild animals. The stereotype of the "noble savage" was moreover at the heart of the company's marketing concept, since it variously appeared in adverts, recordings and short clips designed to sell Bamboula Biscuits. Protests by several anti-racist associations and unions (who were outraged at the application of Ivoirian labour practices in France), as well as by a few historians, obliged the Saint-Michel company to drop the Bamboula name in the 1990s.

NICOLAS BANCEL

1- Somet, Y. and Lomo Myazhiom, A. C., "1994 : 'Bamboula village' à Port-Saint-Père", *Histoire et anthropologie* no. 8, July–September 1994, pp. 120–121.

visitors (since we could not understand them), take us to the bathroom on leashes, and feed us sandwiches and fruit".[21] As this author observed in the case of the 1897 African villages in Tervuren, the presence of guards was both visible and relevant for the entire human zoo performance.[22] Very much as in the case of *The Couple in the Cage*, the guards at Tervuren played a crucial role in the truncated inter-subjectivity of this exotic entertainment. By protecting/restraining the actors and blocking direct communication and any interaction with the spectators, the guards occupy the stage and strengthen the internal (stage-audience) boundaries within the theatricalization of the human zoo. Although these internal boundaries are often as solid as fences or cages, they are constantly in danger of lapsing and demand permanent policing. Thus, with the help of Fusco and Gómez-Peña we understand better that the "Do not feed" signs at the 1897 Tervuren show had less to do with marking (innocuously or not) the animal nature of the Africans on display, than with impeding the likely intersubjectivity which could emerge in the context of exchanging food, looks, and perhaps even touches. Passivity, meekness, and inexpressiveness were among the scarce meta-communicative cues allowed to be conveyed by the human zoo subjects.

Yves Forestier, "Le village de Bamboula" (The Bamboula Village), Nantes, photograph, 1994.

Hassan Musa, "Who Needs Bananas in Baghdad?", mixed media, 2007.

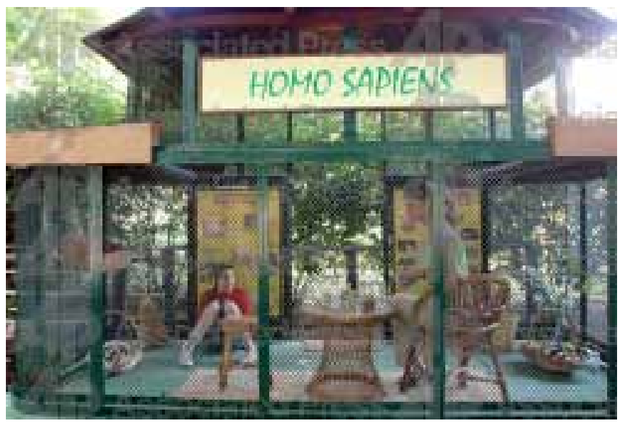
Orlan, "American Indian Self-Hybridations Natives #6: painted portrait of Ru-Ton-Ye-Mee-Ma, Strutting Pigeon, with a photographic portrait of Orlan", photograph, digital treatment, 2005.

London 2005: The New Human Zoo?

The display of humans at the London Zoo in 2005 owed more to reality television than to the "human zoos" of past centuries. Those racist zoos elaborated a representation of the Other (at that time, colonized peoples) in such a way that the Other appeared in the desired light (in line with colonial policies).[1] A zoo domesticated the unknown, wild Other by displaying him or her as a harmless specimen. From this standpoint, the exhibition of a "troop of *homo sapiens*" was different because it meant putting the *Same* on show. Spectators saw their own reflection in the cage, there where animals or other humans were normally exhibited precisely because they could never adopt the place of the spectator. Of course, we might think that this trick of a distorting mirror was innocuous. Since the exhibits were young Europeans, what domestication was involved here? Yet the promoter of this attraction should be taken seriously. He wanted to show that humans are animals whose proliferation constitutes a threat – which says it all. The specific attribute of zoological display is that it naturalizes a political situation. Colonization was an act of conquest, which exhibitions justified by showing the nature of those who had to be civilized. The greedy exploitation of resources is apparently a political problem based on an inegalitarian system of unbridled competition; but no, indeed, it is a biological problem related to human nature. Putting reality on show is never innocuous.

OLIVIER RAZAC

1– Razac, 2000.



Lyle Ashton Harris and Renee Valerie Cox, "Hottentot Venus 2000", photograph, 1994.

Kara Walker, "Do You Like Cream in Your Coffee and Chocolate in Your Milk?", drawings in charcoal and ink, 1997.

Abid Katib, "The Human Zoo: London", photograph of a happening, 2008.

Filip Horvat, "Homo sapiens", Zagreb Zoo, photograph of a happening, 2005.

Lourdes Grobet, "Tinieblas, Alushe y Tinieblas Jr.", photograph, 1980.

Mark Steven Greenfield, "Hitman", mask/installation, 2000.

Mark Steven Greenfield, "Rosary" (detail), mask/installation, 2000.

The Human Zoo as bad intercultural performance: ethics and aesthetics

In order to further disentangle human zoos as situated at the nexus of performance and subalternity, it is worth looking into a number of contemporary artistic projects which emerge from the surging "artistic interest in collectivity, collaboration, and direct engagement with specific social constituencies".[23] Hence, each in their own way these artistic projects engage with hegemonies, processes of othering and selfing, inequities in the representative operations effected, orchestrated or otherwise elicited by the artist. Not surprisingly, a discussion has arisen among curators and art critics on how such artistic work can be evaluated or even understood and, in doing so, how ethical considerations interfere with aesthetic ones.

Two of the *loci classici* of contemporary socially engaged art – alternatively called "dialogic art", "interventionist" or "participatory" art[24] – are the projects of Santiago Sierra and Thomas Hirschhorn, although Phil Collins' *They Shoot Horses* (2004) and Christoph Schingelsief's *Operndorf Afrika* also belong to that category. What is particularly striking in the exegesis of Sierra's work with migrants, refugees, and so on is that it is being called to account for the reproduction of the staged subalternity. "There is a fine line", a curator explains in connection to Sierra's work, "between representing other people's suffering and perpetuating it. In much contemporary art the exploitation of misery could be termed poornography [*sic*]".[25] A very similar observation is launched by another curator cum art critic concerning Thomas Hirschhorn's *Bataille Monument* which has been criticized for "exhibiting" and making exotic marginalized groups and thereby contributing to a form of social pornography".[26] Similar lines of critique have been developed concerning present-day artistic parodies of human zoos. Diana Taylor makes the following remark with respect to Gomez-Pena's and Fusco's *The Couple in the Cage*: "The hierarchies and epistemologies that the performance attacked are in danger of being reproduced. Our looking becomes unidirectional and invasive. 'Their' gullibility reaffirms our superior wisdom; 'they' once again serve to stabilize 'us'."[27]And very much the same concern is expressed in connection with contemporary projects on the "Venus Hottentot" whose lack of agency and politicization "contribute to the risk of re-establishing her as a curiosity merely renamed as cultural icon. Baartman's iconic status depends upon her perceived value as emblematic of both nineteenth-century black experiences and of European debates on physical differences as markers of racial difference".[28]

One of the central questions, is how cultural or artistic projects involving subaltern groups can offer more than intelligent forms of voyeurism on one hand, and, on the other hand, simple notions of solidarity and empathy between the artist/public and the subjects or actors involved in the project.

One of the young contemporary artists whose recent work engages with this complex problematic is Renzo Martens. He can be said to directly address the question of visual exploitation and takes head on the intricacies of artists trying "to 'fully' represent their subjects"[29], whatever that means.

Both Renzo Martens' film project *Episode I* (2003) which is located in Chechnya, and *Episode III Enjoy Poverty*, staged in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, can be classified as "documentary fiction", in which John Douglas Millar[30] also includes projects like Jonathan Littel's *The Kindly Ones* and Sacha Baron Cohen's *Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan.* More

Coco Fusco, or a Cannibal Happening

Coco Fusco is an interdisciplinary artist from New York who has organized many performances and exhibitions throughout the world. As part of the *White Bear* project in 1992, in collaboration with Guillermo Gomez-Peña she wrote, produced and performed a piece titled *Two Undiscovered Amerindians Visit the West*. A thirty-minute documentary of the performance was also made.[1] The multidisciplinary performance, which included a multimedia installation and experimental music, featured the two artists in a cage portraying two Amerindians from a Caribbean island as yet "untouched" by Western civilization. The pair presented themselves as "specimens representative of the Guatinaui people". Gomez-Peña wore an Aztec-style breastplate and a wrestler's leopard-skin face mask, while Fusco wore a grass skirt and a leopard-skin bra. Both artists performed allegedly "primitive" acts in order to reinforce their "authenticity". They toyed with voodoo dolls and ate bananas passed to them through the bars of their cage by the public. Fusco explained that this staging functioned like "a blank screen onto which audiences projected their fantasies of who and what we are. As we assumed the stereotypical role of the domesticated savage, many audience members felt entitled to assume the role of colonizer."[2]

YACINE HAMOUD

1- Produced and directed by Coco Fusco in conjunction with Paula Heredia for the New York Film Festival Video Vision Program, 1993. The documentary won the Best Performance Documentary Award at the 1994 Atlanta Film and Video Festival and was broadcast on KCET and WGBH television channels in 1994.
2- Fusco, 1995.

appropriately perhaps, one could describe Renzo Marten's cinematographic work as situated "somewhere between staged reality and everyday fiction"[31] (and as such, makes visible "the very socio-politico-economic tensions and power relations that organize societal life, as well as the 'invisible' people within society, the marginalized and/or disenfranchised".[32] But, still, this is only part of the story. More important perhaps is that Martens avoids the accusation of the spectacularization of exploitation[33] by showing/staging this exploitation, or more generally the objectifying/hegemonic gaze *in* his films. This is exemplarily the case for the performances in Chokri Ben Chikha's *Action Zoo Humain* (2009–2013). While raising the issue of classic human zoo performances, *Action Zoo Humain* confronts these with other modes of colonial representation such as statues (for colonial heroes) and postcolonial representation of Africans or "blacks" variably as immigrants, women, or subjects of development aid or cultural cooperation. *Action Zoo Humain* tries to detect, identify and analyze the stereotypes in these representations by embedding them in a "ruptural performance"[34] which, in the words of Homi K. Bhabha, decentres "powerful master discourses".[35] Chokri Ben Chikha thus fully exploits the possibilities of performance not as mimesis (reproduction with the risk of amplification) but as poiesis:[36] as an art form which fits the contemporary world "that is highly self-conscious, reflexive, obsessed with simulations and theatricalizations in every aspect of its social awareness".[37]

◄ Coco Fusco, "The Couple in the Cage", photograph of a happening, 1993.

Agence Ecom-Univas (advertising agency), "À quelle sauce je vais le manger, le Blanc !" (Sauce up the white meat!), France, advertising poster, 1986.

Daniel Buren (Philippe Cibille, photography), "Jeune femme et chèvre devant rayures" (Young Woman and Goat in front of Stripes), Paris (Pelouse de Reuilly), poster for the show by Daniel Buren (preceded by a cabinet of curiosities relating to colonial exhibitions), 2004.

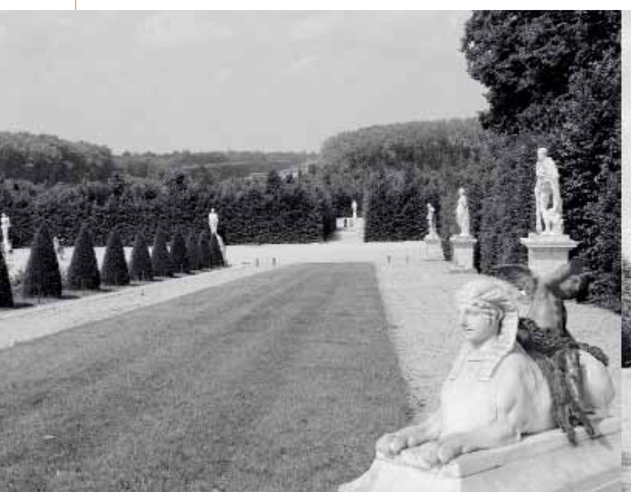
Tragic Migrancy: An Account

Around 2002, in conjunction with English anthropologist Peter Mason, this author undertook research on the natives of Terra del Fuego and Patagonia who had been forcibly taken to Europe in the nineteenth century in order to be exhibited. Our goal was simple: we wanted to find out who they were, what had happened to them, and how many had returned home. This research resulted in the publication of several articles and books as well as a film, *Calafate: Zoológicos Humanos*, directed by Chilean documentary director Hans Mülchi.[1] In January 2008 we followed the path of the "Fuegians" and "Patagonians" through several European cities. At the anthropology department of the University of Zurich, Switzerland, we came face to face with the cruel fate that awaited some of them when we discovered the remains of five of the Kawésqar exhibited in France, Germany, and Switzerland. They had been conserved in Zurich for one hundred and twenty-six years. Once we saw the remains of Fuegians whom we had known only through photographs,[2] the idea of a potential restitution of the bodies began to emerge – an event that ultimately took place at noon on Tuesday, 12 January 2010, when the remains of the five Kawésqar arrived in Santiago, Chile. There they were received by President Michelle Bachelet, who recognized the responsibility of the Chilean state in this sad, forgotten affair. Ever since, the Kawésqar have rested in peace in a patch of land on the Strait of Magellan near where they were seized in 1881.

CHRISTIAN BÁEZ ALLENDE

1- Collaborators on this audiovisual project included Margarita Ortega, Eduardo Mülchi, Enrique Ramírez, Teresa Salinas and Rodrigo Cepeda.

2- Our thanks go to two of the department's researchers, Marcia Ponce de Leon and Christoph P. E. Zollikofer, for their kindness and sensitivity.



By bringing such simulations and theatricalizations of potential stereotypes at work in conjectural colonial and postcolonial human zoos, into public space, Chokri Ben Chikha provokes doubt about the presence of such human zoo refractions both in the artifice of staged reality and in the fiction of everyday life. *Action Zoo Humain* interrogates its many participants (actors and public) on the way in which human zoo mechanisms and imagery keep informing intercultural encounters of all sorts and thus determine how people experience and interpret each other across assumed cultural barriers.

Based on Victor Turner's idea of the *homo performans*, of "humanity as performer, a culture-inventing, social-performing, self-making and self-transforming creature",[38] and in accordance with his earlier insights on intersubjectivity (1983), Johannes Fabian argues that, "if allowed, people will let us get to know them by performing (parts of) their culture. Such knowledge – let us call it performative – demands participation (at least as an audience) and therefore some degree of mutual recognition".[39] This article has sought to establish that – and how – (historical) human zoos exist merely by the grace of the denial of this inter-subjectivity, which has the double effect of widening the gap and reinforcing the inequality between actors and spectators. Thus

Pierre Petit, "Fuégiens" (Fuegians), Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation de Paris, photograph, albumen print, 1881.

Mariana Matthews, "Sho'On", Santiago, Chile, sculpture, 2006.

Tamas Galambos, "The Human Zoo", oil on canvas, 1984.

The Human Zoo, a Cross between Reality Television and "Real" Experiment

Mice or men? We have known that humans can be used as laboratory animals ever since Stanley Milgrim carried out his 1965 experiment in which ordinary individuals allegedly demonstrated the "banality of evil"[1] by obeying "scientists" in white coats who urged the subjects to torture others.[2] Six years later, Professor Philip Zimbardo shut up twenty-four students in a basement at Stanford University and named twelve of them prisoners, the other twelve being named wardens. The experiment had to be halted six days later when it became clear that the "lab mice" had turned into wolves and sheep. A similar approach resurfaced in 2000 with the reality shows that invaded TV screens, claiming to reveal the authentic face of people thanks to the constant, ubiquitous presence of cameras in an enclosed setting.[3] Critics were outraged, decrying the voyeurism and the fact that people were treated like lab mice. One year later, a British-produced television show called *The Human Zoo*[4] studied a confined group of individuals in order to comment on their behaviour. Here again, Zimbardo[5] played the same role that "scientists" and other "anthropo-zoologists" once played with "natives" at the zoological gardens in Paris. This broadcast, a cross between reality television and the Stanford Prison Experiment,[6] effectively staged an unlikely encounter of the worlds of "pseudo-science" and show business with the continent of human naiveté.

ISABELLE VEYRAT-MASSON

1- Arendt, H., *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, New York, Viking, 1963.
2- Milgrim, S., *Obedience to Authority*, New York, Harper & Row, 1974.
3- The goals, however, are not the same – the first "reality show", *Big Brother*, was a contest.
4- The series was first aired by The Discovery Channel in America, followed by Quebec (titled *La Faune Humaine*) and Great Britain.
5- Zimbardo had become president of the American Psychological Association.
6- That is to say, the experiment described above.

the stage is turned into a cage – at best "a golden cage" if one wishes to stress the aspect of protection.
Human zoos can be minimally defined as intercultural (or, for that matter intergenerational, intersexual, interracial, etc.) performances in which historical or societal subalternity of the actors is reproduced by the truncated inter-subjectivity of the performance itself. For obvious reasons human zoos have been renounced on ethical grounds but, analyzed in the way done here, they can also be repudiated on aesthetic grounds: because they are bad performances. In the vocabulary of Dwight Conquergood, the attested lack of "performative reflexivity" in human zoos and in human zoo-like events spoils one or more of the three c 's of performance: "creativity, critique, citizenship".[40] Conjugating postcoloniality and animality, Philip Armstrong argues that "encountering the postcolonial animal

Joe Houlihan, "Title sequence of the programme *The Human Zoo*", London (London Weekend Television), 2000.

Peter Parks, "Empire of Dwarves" (amusement park), photograph, 2010.

G. Monnot/Cosmos, "Les derniers 'Sauvages" (The Last Savages), cover of a special issue of *Sciences et Avenir*, December 1992–January 1993.

John Zaller (author), Judith B. Geller (publisher), Elmar Seidel (photographer), "Bodies. The Exhibition", back cover, 2006.

means learning to listen to the voices of all kinds of 'other' without either ventriloquizing them or assigning to them accents so foreign that they never can be understood".[41]
By opting for radicalizing exoticism and policing objectification, human zoos opt for stability and security in intercultural encounters. Discarding the human zoo therefore holds a risk as much as a promise. "Courage, imagination and practice are needed to meet otherness in its everyday theatrical forms of self-presentation with all its tricks and props, postures and poses, masks and costumes, white-face and blackface."[42]

1- Bancel, Blanchard, Boëtsch, Deroo and Lemaire, 2002.
2- See *supra*, p. 348, Bancel, N., "The Bamboula Village in Nantes, France (1994)", and *supra*, p. 311, Arnaut, K., "Baka Pygmies in Wallonia in 2002, and the 'African Village' at the Augsburg Zoo in 2005".
3- See *supra*, p. 358, Veyrat–Masson, I., "*The Human Zoo,* a Cross between Reality Television and 'Real' Experiment".
4- See *supra*, p. 354, Hamoud, Y., "Coco Fusco…, and, p. 351, Razac, O., "London 2005: The New Human Zoo?".
5- Curwin, N., "Human Zoo: UK," *Weekend Television*, London, 2001.
6- Mason B., "Psychologist Puts the 'Real' into Reality TV", *Stanford Report*, May 2001.
7- Zimbardo P. G., "Revisiting the Stanford Prison Experiment: a Lesson in the Power of Situation", *Chronicle of Higher Education*, vol. 53 (no. 30), 2007.
8- A similar idea lies behind Desmond Morris' book, *The Human Zoo,* London, Jonathan Cape, 1970, which tries to show that humans who leave their "natural" rural habitat for an urban one, display the same deviant behaviour as caged animals in a zoo.
9- See *supra*, p. 351, Razac, O., "London 2005: The New Human Zoo?".
10- Cramb, A., "Edinburgh Zoo Visitors See Human 'Penguin Performance'", *The Telegraph*, August 2008.
11- Hymes, D., "Breakthrough into Performance", in Ben-Amos, D. and Goldstein, K., *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, The Hague/Paris, Mouton, 1975.
12- Bateson, G., "A Theory of Play and Fantasy", in *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, New York, Balantine Books, 1972, p. 179.
13- See also Handelman, D., "Anthropology of Play", in Smelser, N. and Baltes, P., *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, Amsterdam, Elsevier Science, 2001.
14- Netto, P., "Reclaiming the Body of the 'Hottentot': The Vision and Visuality of the Body Speaking with Vengeance in Venus Hottentot 2000", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol.12 , no. 2, 2005, p. 158.
15- As illustrated in this catalogue.
16- Netto, P., *op. cit.*, and also Qureshi, S., "Displaying Sara Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus'", *History of Science* no. 42 (136), 2004, p. 150.
17- Fusco, C., "The Other History of Intercultural Performance", *The Drama Review* no. 38 (1), 1994.
18- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., "The Ethnographic Burlesque", *The Drama Review* no. 42 (2), 1998, p. 188.

19- See also Taylor, D., "Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Coco Fusco's *The Couple in the Cage*", *The Drama Review* no. 42 (2), 1998. and Kelly, M. K., "Performing the Other: A Consideration of Two Cages", *College Literature* no. 26 (1), 1999.
20- Perucci, T., "What the Fuck Is That? The Poetics of Ruptural Performance", *Liminalities: a Journal of Performance Studies* no. 5 (5), 2009, p. 11.
21- Fusco, C., *op. cit.*, p. 145.
22- Arnaut, K., "De menselijke zoo na Abu Graib: volkerenshows in tijden van reality-tv", in Sliggers, B., *De exotische mens: Andere culturen als amusement*, Haarlem/Ghent, Teylers Museum/Guislain Museum, 2009.
23- Bishop C., "The Social Turn: Collaboration and its Discontents", *Artforum*, February 2006.
24- *Ibid.*, p. 179.
25- Zolghader, T., "Them and Us," *Frieze* 15 January 2006, http://www.frieze.article.com/print_article/them_and_us
26- Lind, M., "Actualisation of Space: The Case of Oda Projesi", in Doherty, C., *Contemporary Art, from Studio to Situation*, London, Black Dog, 2004.
27- Taylor, D., *op. cit.*, p. 179.
28- Qureshi, S., *op. cit.*, p. 251.
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◄ Srik Narayanan, "Ota Benga. Urban Projections", images from the film *Human Zoo. Science's Dirty Secret*, 2009.

♦ Bourdes, "Les bêtes féroces" (Fierce Beasts), Le Charivari, engraving, August 1833.

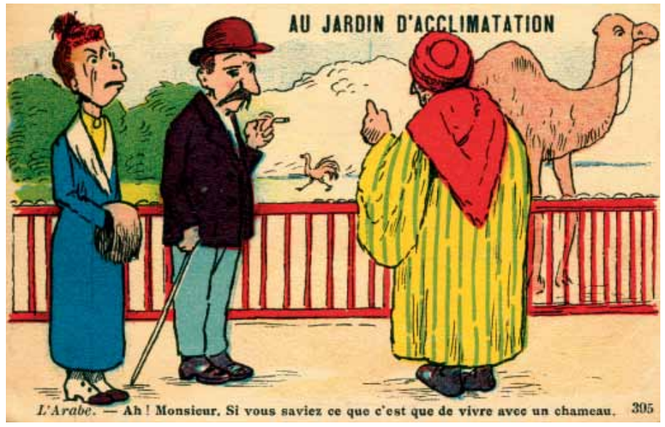
Neither This nor That

In practice, two or three procedures underpin the establishment of a zoo. First comes the capture, removal and enclosure of animals, who are withdrawn from their natural habitat by humans who seize but do not kill them. Instead, the animals are confined to a space that may be subdivided, as required, into several mini ecosystems. In this enclosed space, animals are deprived of a major part of the resources that lent their lives a "wild" quality: they can no longer roam freely nor feed themselves.[1] Second, the animals thus subdued are the object of an implicit taboo: they cannot be killed, apart from certain exceptions, and almost never for the purpose of immediate consumption. Third, the captive animals are not subject to strict domestication – a lion in the zoo is not treated like a cat at home, nor does it share humans' private life. Since the zoo is *not* a domestic realm, the distance between humans and animals is maintained. It is this distance that makes exhibition possible, for exhibiting would make no sense without a divide between the spectator and the object put on show. As to the rest, the animal lives a kind of hovering existence – it is neither this nor that. Similarly, the human beings exhibited in "human zoos" were neither animals nor objects. When placed on show their humanity hovered between these two terms. In many respects this state of "suspended animation" of the animal within its own world, between the world of humans and the world of objects, is still the law today. The domain of application of this law is notably to be found at the intersection between race and contemporary policies of migration.

ACHILLE MBEMBE

1- When it comes to feeding, the animals are henceforth entirely dependent on the people charged with their daily maintenance.

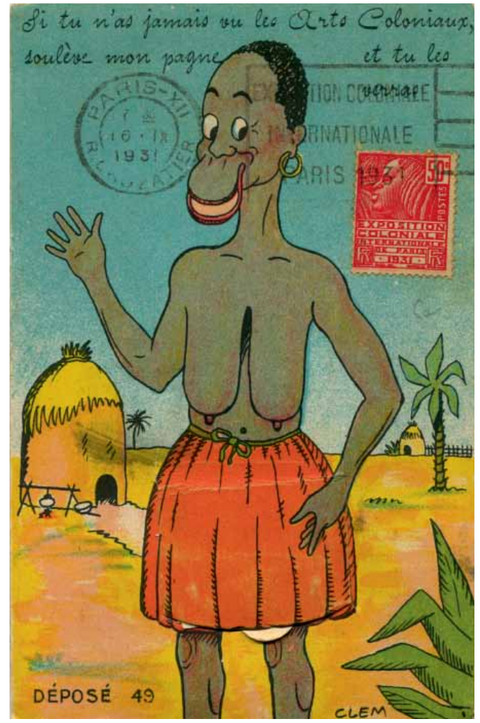
Champengis (pub.), "Oiseau des Iles. Défense d'approcher" (Tropical Bird. Keep Away), France, chromolithograph, 1892.



J. Nozais, "Prix de Beauté Masculine" (Male Beauty Contest), Jardin d'Acclimatation de Paris, drawn postcard, 1925.

G. Artaud, "L'Arabe au Jardin d'Acclimatation" (The Arab in the Jardin d'Acclimatation), Jardin d'Acclimatation de Paris, drawn postcard, 1927.

"Negroes, Nègres, Neger", Paris, chromolithograph, 1878.



Clem (D. Delboy, pub.), "Si tu n'as jamais vu les Arts Coloniaux, soulève mon pagne et tu les verras" (If you have never seen colonial arts, lift up my loin cloth and then you'll see them), Exposition Coloniale et Internationale de Paris, postcard, 1931.

"Petites negresses" (Little Negresses), Paris, chromolithograph, 1897.

Aimé Ntakiyica,
“Wir”, photograph, 2001.